

In fact

FOR THE MILLIONS WHO WANT A FREE PRESS

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68

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Sworn To Secrecy

EIGHTEEN prominent figures met secretly on April 29th in downtown New York and decided to do their utmost to abrogate existing neutrality legislation. America, they resolved, must be in a position to give whatever aid—even armies—required by the Allies.

The gathering was apparently called by Frederic R. Coudert, legal advisor to the British Embassy in 1915-20. Attending were a number of leaders from church and peace organizations and: Henry L. Stimson, Secretary of State under Hoover.

Wendell Wilkie, utility magnate and Republican dark horse.

Thomas W. Lamont, Morgan partner. Nicholas Murray Butler, president of Columbia University.

Lewis Douglas, one time director of the budget, at present vice-president of the American Cynamid Co.

Frank Polk, counsellor of the Dept. of State during the Wilson administration.

Philip M. Brown, former professor of international relations at Harvard and Princeton, once U.S. Charge d'affaires at Constantinople.

Mr. Brown submitted a memorandum which was generally accepted as expressing the outlook of those present. Though not all were Republicans, the feeling was unanimous that some effort should be made to prevent Republican presidential candidates from taking a peace position.

Mr. Brown suggested that since—

1. the inner political, economic, and social structures of nations are rapidly being undermined by revolutionary unrest among workers, farmers, and the smaller middle classes;

2. the shadow of Germany has fallen on Iceland and Greenland;

3. the United States is very concerned over the disposal of Dutch Guiana, near the Panama Canal;

4. the American people are determined to stay out of war, but they

have been induced by the press to accept a neutral attitude toward it;

5. the question of neutrality, morally or technically, is no longer relevant;

Therefore, the United States should not unwittingly wait for this war to engulf our country. America should build its army, navy, and air force with every energy. Neutrality legislation must go. Nothing must stand in the way of America giving full help to Great Britain and France, even if that means armed aid.



Some days later, Wendell Wilkie made a speech attacking peace forces in the U. S.

Mrs. Roosevelt's Brand of Soap

Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt signed a contract to broadcast under the auspices of Sweetheart Soap.

Obviously Mrs. Roosevelt was not aware that at the time the negotiations were in progress with the Manhattan Soap Co., a U. S. agency accused the soap maker of fooling the American people through fake advertising.

The Manhattan Soap Company agreed to cease representing "that beauty experts endorse the use of Sweetheart Toilet Soap; or that doctors prescribe its use; that use of the soap will cause the skin to become healthy, or that its use will cause one to become or stay young; that Sweetheart Soap contains anything that will nourish or feed the skin."

The press suppressed the government's case against a big advertiser. We have searched in vain through the New York World-Telegram, Herald Tribune, Post, Wall Street Journal, Journal-American, Baltimore Sun, San Francisco Chronicle, etc., to find mention of the case.

No Peace Conference Necessary

LORD LOTHIAN, British ambassador to the United States, tipped the Allies' hand in his speech to the St. Louis Chamber of Commerce—which was never fully reported in the American press. Lord Lothian declared:

"Personally I doubt whether the end

of this war will see another great Peace Conference like the last. The basic conditions of the post-war world will be settled by terms of the armistice, by the question of power, by the fact of where the preponderant power will lie at the time when the cease-fire sounds."

It comes as a blow to most Americans to find high-placed Britons hinting that this war will not end with the nations sitting around a conference table. The victor will set the terms, the vanquished will be forced to take them. So the Allies plan, just as Hitler also plans.

Allied spokesmen are berating themselves for mistakes made in the last war. Why, they ask, did they not march through Germany into Berlin? Why did they permit themselves to be drawn into a peace conference which turned into a world scandal? This time there must be no such errors, no Versailles. The armistice must deal a final blow to the German people.



The British want to be very sure that the war will end in their favor. America can help. In his speech, Lord Lothian offered the U. S. a "deal" to split the world: "At the moment you and we share the sea between us. Under present conditions we are predominant in the Atlantic, you in the Pacific. The future depends largely upon what respectively we do with our power, each in our own sphere."

The Times Is Pro-British

THE present pro-British policy of the New York Times is causing widespread suspicion that the American paper is somehow connected with British interests. This suspicion was first heard in 1914 and 1915, when the Times was also all for war on the Allied side. So serious were the reports then of foreign interests in the American press that a U. S. Senate committee investigated.

In reply, the New York Times stated on March 17, 1915:

Mr. Ochs wishes to make the assertion as broad and sweeping as language will permit that he is in possession, free and unencumbered, of the controlling and majority interest of the stock of the New York Times Company, and has no associates in that possession, and is not beholden or accountable to any person or interest in England . . . nor has he ever been beholden or accountable . . . for the conduct of the New York Times, except to his own conscience . . .



Whatever reasons the New York Times has for being pro-British, it has taken its stand by Britain in this war, as it did in the last. This is evidenced by one of the most startling betrayals of policy any American newspaper has ever committed.

In the city edition of the Times of April 9, which went to press before the Germans invaded Norway, the leading editorial, "War in Norway's Waters," said plainly:

Whatever good reasons the British may have had, they had no legal right to sow mines in Norwegian waters. It is true, as the British point out, that Germany has been committing brutal illegalities at sea. . . . But Norway has not been guilty of these crimes, and the right of reprisal does not entitle a belligerent to violate the sovereignty of a friendly neutral. . . .

In the late city edition, published chiefly for local distribution, the Times had received the news of Germany's reprisal. The Times then dropped its first editorial and wrote:

Without any more warning than a gangster gives its victim, without a shadow of justification except brute force, another free nation was murdered in cold blood this morning. . . .

No doubt it will be argued in Berlin that Germany's course is justified by the prior action of the Allies. . . .

The argument is specious. . . . The Allied policy of planting mines in certain limited and clearly defined areas along the coast of Norway was a technical violation of that country's sovereignty. But it was a humane illegality. . . .

Thus, between editions, the charge that Britain had acted illegally becomes only a technical violation, and above all, a "humane illegality." In other words, it depends whose Ochs is gored.

Who Is Winning the War?

"Referring again to sterling, it is noteworthy that one effect of the tightening of the exchange control has been to make New York the leading foreign exchange market of the world. Because London, and the British Empire generally, no longer deal in free exchange, but only in official exchange, the greater part of the business of Latin America, Asia, and continental Europe that formerly went to London, now comes here. To a much smaller extent business has been diverted to Holland and Switzerland."

Monthly Bulletin of the National City Bank of New York.

The Mighty Are Falling

NAMES once to be conjured with, such as J. P. Morgan, Kuhn Loeb, and Dillon Read no longer are considered by Wall Street insiders as all-powerful. The bankers have been replaced by the great life insurance companies, like the Metropolitan, with their huge funds for investment and for manipulating the markets. Unrestricted by even such much-skirted laws as the Clayton Act, the insurance companies have established themselves as the most potent voices in the financial world. Though it is not generally known, the watchword among the informed in Wall Street is "The insurance companies decided . . ." and not "Morgan says . . ."



A decade ago any new bond issue which carried the stamp of Morgan's approval was assured of being bought up in a few hours. Yet recently the Morgan firm was asked to remove its name from an offering of western utility bonds. It was feared that Morgan's name would not help the sale of bonds among school teachers, small merchants, and similar purchasers. Morgan & Co. obligingly withdrew.

The British Are Worried

NEITHER Washington nor Wall Street was much surprised by the recent British debacle in Norway. And they are doubtful as to how the Allies will show up against Germany in Holland and Belgium. Certainly, considered opinion

does not expect the Allies to take initiative for some time to come. Great Britain is now at about 50% of its military potential. It will take about another year before the British arrive at the height of their military effectiveness—and then the Germans will have begun to feel the pinch of war. In the World War, it must not be forgotten, the British lagged, and the Germans called the play for the first three years.

The German government fears a long war. It is therefore making all efforts to seek an early solution to the present conflict. A few more successes like that in Norway, they hope, will give the Nazis the possibility to utilize their augmented striking power to bolster their staying power. To end the war, the Germans must prosper sufficiently on the economic and military fronts to overcome the present overwhelming Allied advantage in reserves and resources and the full aid of the United States. This is the real explanation of the invasions into Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg.

In this country, extremes of optimism or pessimism, reflecting British propaganda, prove equally unrealistic and equally dangerous. During appeasement days, it was an accepted axiom that Germany could not win—so it was said to be safe to retreat before Nazi demands. Today the axiom is reversed, and it is said that Germany cannot lose. Such an outlook is acknowledged to be a powerful weapon in the hands of those who would have the U. S. enter the war, the sooner the better.



Why are the Secretaries of State and Treasury turning their departments into research and information agencies for the British government? Despite the administration's resolve to give the Allies "all aid short of war" we are not yet formally in the war. Why then do U. S. agencies supply vital material on shipping, airplane and military production, and other information usually available to one side of a conflict only through spies? In addition, a recent investigation proved that Allied funds in this country—gold, foreign exchange, and American securities—amount to over \$16 billion, ample for a long and active war. At the beginning of hos-

tilities, the British refused to admit they had any funds at all.



The dilemma harrowing the English is how to hang on to cash assets. Clearly, American sympathy has cost them dearly. If they pay for materials by liquidating securities, they thereby relinquish their grip on vital interests both at home and abroad. In London it is argued that the sale of American stocks will depress the Wall Street market and American investors will then force the U. S. Government to save stock prices by granting credits to the Allies. Others urge that payments for American products be made in gold. But then, reply their opponents, when the war is ended, the United States will be able to use this store of gold to control the markets of the world.

Mundelein's Editor Out

OF THE hundreds of Catholic publications—about 200 magazines and 140 newspapers, mostly diocesan weeklies—the total number which could be called democratic, liberal, and progressive was never more than a mere handful, with a circulation of less than 250,000 out of the claimed 7,000,000. Nevertheless, the democratic Catholic press was influential because it included the leading literary weekly, *The Commonweal*; the noted labor papers, *The Catholic Worker* and the *Chicago Catholic Worker*; *The Christian Front* (not to be confused with the men accused of sedition; it has changed its name recently); the late Cardinal Mundelein's *New World* of Chicago; and a few other papers courageous enough to disown Frank Hague as a Catholic.

The *Catholic Worker* had more than

100,000 circulation, but the *New World*, with 50,000, exerted tremendous liberal influence, thanks to Mundelein's choice of Father Timothy Rowan as editor.

Whereas the great French and British Catholic papers attacked Franco and fascism, the American Catholic press with few exceptions supported the rebel general and reaction. Mundelein alone of the four American cardinals did not support Franco, and his *New Work* actually published items denouncing him. (The *Commonweal* changed its policy midway, from pro-Franco to impartiality.)

Following the death of Cardinal Mundelein, Father Rowan continued to publish a liberal weekly. But with the arrival of Archbishop Stritch strange things began to happen. Father Rowan's department, "The Big Broadcast," began to skip issues, and now Father Rowan has been relieved of his job as editor and sent away to a parish. He has been replaced by Father E. V. Dailley, who supported Franco, and who belongs to the reactionaries.

Smuggling in Anti-Semitism

WARNING: Senator Reynolds of North Carolina, William Dudley Pelley of the *Silver Shirts*, and Congressman Dies of Texas, can be expected soon to proclaim openly, or at least to hint in no uncertain terms, that the Jews are responsible for the present European war.

Propaganda entitled "Jewish War-Guilt" was exported by the Nazis to Mexico, Detroit, New York, and elsewhere as soon as war broke out. In Detroit, the slander was spread by the *National Workers League*, closely tied to the *Ford Motor Company*, and a strong advocate of company unionism. Father Coughlin immediately added his voice to the anti-Semites, as did the *Christian Front*, whose followers swear allegiance to Coughlin. Their slogan is "Jewish influences started the war and are now trying to bring America into it."

Even hints get the desired results. Congressman Ham Fish, on his return from Germany right after the war started, addressed a large New York meeting, ended with the dramatic question, "Who is responsible for the war?" Evidently his speech was worded in a

way that brought the chorus of "Kill the Jews."

The pogromists expect great things from Dies, Pelley, and Reynolds. They bear in mind the statement of Joseph Goebbels, Nazi Minister of Propaganda and Public Enlightenment in April, 1939, "If ever a new war should break out in Europe, then this cry, 'The Jews are the culprits,' shall resound through the world."

C.U. Challenges the Press

IN MAY 1936 Consumers Union (4,000 members) published its first report, showing most Grade A milk claims to be phony: it recommended one grade of milk. Borden, Sheffield, National Dairy, others interested in money rather than public welfare, are now fighting this proposal. Within a few weeks New York will have one-grade milk.

Consumers Union cannot get its ads accepted by the *Times* and hundreds of other newspapers and magazines. Some admit that the manufacturers of bad products do not want CU (85,000 members) which recommends good products, to receive publicity. Others reply with hypocritical evasions. We shall have something to say about the press vs. consumers in every issue.

Spy Law Used Against Labor

THE Aluminum Corporation of America, which controls all aluminum production in the United States, is one of the first of the large monopolies to have a dress rehearsal of M-Day. Recently, the Aluminum Corporation posted a transcript of the old 1917 Espionage Act in the Cleveland plant, adding a note to the effect that any "improper conversations" concerning conditions within the plant would be considered in violation of the Espionage

We Can't Print That

We cannot print the story of how William Bullitt, our ambassador to Russia, intrigued in Berlin to prevent the signature of the Franco-Soviet treaty. The reason we cannot print that is because we cannot mention our source for this fact.

We cannot print the story of how one of our ambassadors misinformed (or shall we say, lied to) President Roosevelt about the fascist revolt in Spain; how another ambassador told the truth, and how Roosevelt clamped on the embargo which murdered the Spanish Republic. Some day we hope that persons who are the sources of these items will be free to release us from our promise of secrecy.

Another Coughlin Trick

In more recent broadcasts Father Coughlin has stopped supporting the *Christian Front* and attacking the Jews; the former action was perhaps the better part of valor, the latter perhaps due to the bishop's censorship. But this does not mean that Coughlin has dropped his old tricks. Coughlin continues to take both actions in pamphlets which his announcer urges all listeners to send for. "An Answer to Father Coughlin's Critics" continues the Coughlin anti-Semitic policy. There is also an attack on Monsignor Ryan, one of the few great Catholic liberals in America.

Act and sufficient cause for immediate dismissal.

The CIO local protested to the regional labor board, which refused to consider the complaint. The local thereupon notified the legal department of the CIO's national office in Washington. The lawyers advised resubmission of the complaint, and for their part, brought the case to the notice of the National Labor Relations Board. The Board admitted that if the complaint were true, the Aluminum Company was acting unfairly and attempting to intimidate employees wishing to join or remain in the CIO union.

A day or so later, the NLRB notified the CIO legal staff that it was dropping the charges and would throw out any complaint in the future.

When pressed for explanations, the Board spokesman said he could give no further reason. If the CIO lawyers wanted more information, they were advised to consult a certain high official in the Department of Navy. Thus wartime laws are imposed on a nation at peace.

The Color Line of the A.P.

THE following statement was made to the Supreme Court, when the Wagner Act was being tested, by Morris Watson, national organizer of the American Newspaper Guild and former employee of the Associated Press:

When I was employed by the Associated Press I learned that this organization draws a color line to please its southern members. . . .

I insisted on using Mr. and Mrs. for Negroes as well as Whites. This

War-Making Headlines

Sensation scare headline, New York Post, May 10:

U. S. Fleet Reported on Move.
The only supporting evidence was printed in parenthesis. It said: "Rumors that the U. S. Fleet was maneuvering toward the East Indies could not be confirmed."

This sort of yellow journalism was used by Hearst to draw us into a war against Spain.

brought an indignant protest from our Atlanta, Georgia, bureau, which insisted that no Negro could be so termed.

When I refused to change the Associated Press copy on the Southern wire, an official of the A.P. did so. This is one of the many instances of the perversion of news I found on the great A.P.

The Associated Press prides itself on Olympian honesty—because it is a non-profit cooperative. But the non-profit-eering cooperators are the owners of the press, not the newspapermen who work for it; it is a phony co-op of bosses, most of whom are anti-labor and some, Ku Kluxers.

Farmers In Politics

ADMINISTRATION leaders are jittery over the possibility that John L. Lewis will talk things over with John Vesecky, President of the Farmers Union. Such conversations, expected by those who are close to the Union, may well prove to be a major political bombshell that will shatter many well-laid plans.

Where will the farm vote go, is the question that bothers politicians these days. With labor by no means in the Democratic bag, party leaders have be-

gun to flirt openly with the farmers. When Earl Smith of Illinois, conservative head of the Farm Bureau of that state, showed himself definitely cool to the Democrats and interested in what the Republicans had to offer, the administration became so alarmed that it hastily began to make overtures to the National Farmers Union, largest organization of dirt farmers in the country.

Even so, not much action has been forthcoming. There are those in the Farmers Union who now feel that weight should be put behind the CIO, jointly to insist upon progressive action on all domestic issues, and against activities leading toward war. The Farmers Union and the CIO entered into a mild working agreement once before.



The CIO United Cannery, Agricultural, Packing & Allied Workers charge that in California the Associated Farmers have revived the Ku Klux Klan as a weapon against the union. "The KKK is undoubtedly part of the organized movement to crush the CIO," says Luke Hinman, California union organizer. "We have several strong locals in the San Joaquin Valley, which have been built up since the last strikes."

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